[73 cont.] 3: Burney, A chronological history of the voyages and discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean, II, p. 290. (Burney rarely differs from Dalrymple; I therefore cite him only in such cases).

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Fig. 2. Man with ear, chest, and arm ornaments, with bleached or powdered hair. (G. Küppers-Loosen Coll.)

D'Urville, p. 217. Markham, pp. 66, 140 ff. Joest, Tagebuch [Journal], pp. 54, 81.

[113]

In any case, culturally the Reef Islands cannot at present be separated from Ndeni--later a division of the individual islands may have to be made. Nevertheless, by virtue of their not inconsiderable Polynesian ethnographic elements, they naturally play an important role in the

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[73 cont.]

101 Polynesian influence on the main island, a role similar to that
●177 played in the south by Tikopia for Vanikoro.
184 Up to now we know little about the Santa Cruz natives psychologically, and that little shows apparently contradictory features, as is customary among primitive peoples. With [74] all their warlike tendencies, the Spaniards found the Ndeni and Reef Islanders true-hearted, and this trait has not entirely disappeared according to more recent reports (1). To be sure, when

1. Dalrymple, pp. 81 ff. Joest in Baessler, p. 379 and elsewhere. Moresby, p. 87.

Dillon says of the Ndeni people that they always approached the ship singing (2), which he apparently views as a sign of cheerful-

2. Dillon, p. 315.

ness and innocence, [Fig. 3 appears here] a religious, superstitious significance of this behavior is not to be wholly ignored (3).

3. Cf. p. 153.

A commercial spirit is very pronounced (4). With regard to

4. Cf. p. 80.

thefts, the observation made elsewhere applies here also, that even European property is safe inside the house, whereas thefts occur in the open (5). According to Joest, there is no such thing

5. Joest in Baessler, p. 372.

as gratitude because nothing is ever given away. The absence of a concept of cruelty to animals is documented by Joest, to whom the natives offered a live plucked chicken for sale (6).

6. Joest, Tagebuch, p. 51.

[74 cont.]

609 In general, the inhabitants of Vanikoro made a favorable impression upon Dillon; they even boarded the ship unarmed (7). If

7. Dillon, pp. 166, 173.

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Fig. 3. Man with nose and ear ornaments.
(G. Küppers-Loosen Coll.)

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[177] shortly thereafter D'Urville found the situation exactly reversed, this is only further proof of how revolutionary an effect an acquaintance with European cultural elements has on the [75] customs and views of the natives. Events such as the murder of Bishop Patterson, on the other hand, can undoubtedly be traced to religious motives, in an effort to ward off unknown and presumably harmful influences.

600 Finally, we should like to mention a few not unimportant details which do not exactly fit into a description of the culture.

[77 cont.]

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ear chains, and properly so, since the specimens, lacking a slit, are not fastened directly in the ear lobes. In recent times, according to Joest, the natives also wear

●[177]

can-openers in their ears. In F. de Tolna, p. 267, incorrectly "anneaux de perles enfilees" [chains of beads].

Individual reports

mention that the ears are pierced in several places, in other words, also the rims of the ears (5). Of the illustrations available

5. Codrington, p. 232.

to me, only Figure 1 shows an ear pierced in several places, as is shown by the rings in the upper part of the rim of the ear. All the others show only the ear lobe, which is sometimes very much distended because of the weight of the ornament (6).

6. According to Joest, about one-fourth of all the natives had torn ear lobes.

301

[78] The neck ornament consists of strings with white shell disks. The free ends are wound with string of the same kind to form thickened string, to which the tie-strings are fastened; sometimes smaller strings of beads are hung in the center of the chain of beads. In recent times large blue glass beads are put

[177]

on, especially at the ends of the ornament (Fig. 6) (1). Figure

1. Edge-Partington, I, 166, No. 1. Labillardière, p. 250. Dalrymple, p. 78, mentions necklaces with beads of bone and ebony; he probably means the kind made out of shell and coconut disks, which are common in Micronesia. Necklaces of fish teeth are mentioned in ibid., and Markham, p. 164, mentions and illustrates one of human teeth.

[79 cont.]

301

p. 78, mentions shell disks which were worn on different parts of the body, and on p. 150 (quoting Quiros) "mother-of-pearl disks" worn around the neck, which undoubtedly is a failure to recognize the Tridacna disks. These are also mentioned in: Labillardière, p. 260; Coote, p. 158; Dewar, p. 248 (with a layer of tortoise shell); Joest in Baessler, p. 376, ill.; F. de Tolna, pp. 267 ff. According to Markham, p. 164, they are worn only by chiefs.

[531] that fastens the ornament to the necklace, running radially from the upper edge to the center bore, is decorated on the front with small shell disks (2).

2. Berlin Mus. VI 16172.

The arm ornaments are worn on both arms alike and [287] without distinction, except for the bark cloth or rattan wound around the left wrist, which, however, does not actually serve as [411] an ornament, but as protection against the recoil of the bowstring in shooting (3). At an early age the boys wear whole sets (at first

3. Joest in Baessler, p. 390. (Instead of tapa, cotton nowadays.) F. de Tolna, p. 281. Dalrymple, p. 78.

[177]

seven or eight) of Trochus arm-rings on their upper arms above the elbow (Figs. 1, 3, and 9, No. 1) (4). In addition there is a

4. Joest in Baessler, p. 376. Edge-Partington, I, 166, No. 5. Coote, p. 158. Dewar, p. 246. Markham, p. 164.

[87 cont.]

302 Our data about painting and tattooing are very meager. According to the oldest reports, at the time of the Spanish visit, the inhabitants of Ndeni had their bodies mostly colored black (5).

5. Dalrymple, p. 78. With reference to Vanikoro, D'Urville, p. 135, mentions rubbing with coconut oil.

Gaimard observed the same black painting among the women of Vanikoro (6). Markham mentions that they paint themselves

6. D'Urville, p. 338. Lesson, Revue d'Anthropologie, V, p. 265 (black and brown; cf. previous footnote).

with colors that are rubbed in with coconut oil (7), and Coote

7. Markham, p. 164.

speaks of a black facial painting with red and yellow stripes, Joest only of coloring the body yellow with Curcuma in the case [548] of children and prostitutes (8). Almost as meager are the reports

8. Coote, p. 158. Joest in Baessler, p. 381.

304 about tattooing; Dillon and D'Urville, with reference to Vanikoro, mention a back-tattooing, not very visible on the black skin, in [531] the form of fish, lizards, series of triangles, etc., which clearly ● 177] shows the influence of Tikopia, and indirectly of Rotuma. Labillardière likewise mentions back-tattooing in particular on Ndeni (9). Joest says of the Reef Islanders that the women he saw

9. Dillon, p. 278. D'Urville, p. 215. Lesson, Revue d'Anthropologie, V, p. 265. Labillardière, p. 256.

[112 cont.]

502 Ndeni (4). Coote says of those on the Reef Islands that they sail

4. Dalrymple, p. 195. Burney, p. 290.

badly against the wind, but that before the wind they sail very well. The frequent capsizing of the boats, despite the outrigger, [481] does not disconcert the occupants; swimming in the water, they right the vessel again, remove the water in large part by a swinging motion, and scoop out the rest with the water scoops. With the large sea-going boats they go far beyond sight of land, guided only by their knowledge of the points of the compass and the stars. Of special significance for sea journeys is the time of the [132] monsoon, which lasts approximately from February to April. According to Coote, the natives were able to tell the exact location of their island even from a great distance, and the same traveler [868] observed how an older boy on the ship taught a younger one the 484 names of the stars (5). There is lively traffic between the

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5. Dillon, p. 219 (monsoon = rakeys). D'Urville, p. 194. Gaimard, ibid., p. 338. Coote, pp. 151 f. Joest in Baessler, p. 395.

individual parts of the group, as well as with the neighboring Polynesian islands, the heaviest between Ndeni and the Reef Islands and between Vanikoro and Tikopia. Moreover, Ndeni and the Reef Islands have contact with Sikaiana, as does Vanikoro [304] with Ndeni and the Reef Islands. A native of Vanikoro was tattooed on Mami, an island adjacent to Ndeni, and since then he has visited almost all the Reef Islands. Through Tikopia, the Vanikorese were also familiar with the Banks Islands. A native 823 of Vanikoro was able [113] to draw a large number of the islands on a sketch which, of course, was inaccurate (1). Mixed marriages

1. Dalrymple, pp. 146 ff. Burney, pp. 290 ff. Dillon, pp. 158, 167, 268.

[113 cont.]

Gaimard in D'Urville, p. 307. D'Urville, pp. 113, 136, 176, 193, 197. Coote, p. 157. Joest, Tagebuch, p. 81. According to D'Urville, pp. 322 and 362, a native of Uea lived on Tikopia. According to Thilenius, Ethnograph. Ergebnisse aus Melanesien [Ethnographic Results from Melanesia], I, p. 27, and Globus, LXXXI, p. 135, Ndeni also trades with some of the New Hebrides; despite Codrington, did this come about through European influence?

Mixed marriages between Vanikoro and Tikopia took place, at least among the chiefs' families. A number of Vanikorese understood the Polynesian idioms. At times Vanikoro stood in a dependent relationship with Tikopia, a situation whose aftereffects may have included the worship on Vanikoro of an atua[1] from Tikopia in D'Urville's day (2). Chiefly, however, traffic between the individual islands is based on commercial interests: Vanikoro obtained tapa and fine mats from Tikopia, whereas Tikopia obtained mother-of-pearl and finished articles, such as necklaces made from cowrie-like shells (?) and bows and arrows, from Vanikoro (3).

2. Dillon, p. 167. D'Urville, pp. 155, 217; on Vanikoro Gaimard observed a dance imported from Tikopia (in D'Urville, p. 333) and reports, p. 342, that the language of Utupua and Ndeni was known. Cf. also Lesson in Revue d'Anthropologie, V, pp. 257 ff.

3. Dillon, p. 171.

For the northern islands as far as Sikaiana, Vanikoro was the chief export point for wood for boat-building, because of its forests(4).

1 [atua = supernatural beings or gods--Analyst.]

4. Dalrymple, p. 153.

[113 cont.]

396 forests (4). The boat-building industry itself also flourished there; 1

[000] 4. Dalrymple, p. 153.

a chief is mentioned as a great boat-builder (5). After the

5. Gaimard in D'Urville, pp. 332, 334. Dewar, p. 248, mentions boat-building on Ndeni.

[177] catastrophe of La Pérouse, which dumped large quantities of ironwork into the laps of the natives there, there was a decline in the industry of the island, which thereafter obtained almost all its needs in industrial products from the neighboring islands in exchange for iron (6).

[438 439]

6. D'Urville, p. 196.

437 Trade is everywhere a vital concern of the inhabitants. They always sailed out to meet European travelers with coconuts, yams, etc., pigs, chickens, pigeons, arrows, mats, boat models or toy boats, and other things, in order to initiate trade (7). Yet

[439]

7. Labillardière, p. 251. Dillon, p. 293. Wilson, p. 295. Markham, p. 159. Coote, pp. 151, 153, 159. Dewar, p. 246. According to Dillon, p. 264, the women, in their own boats, also took part in this trade.

they are difficult to deal with. The Vanikorese had scarcely been provided with a certain amount of European necessities by Dillon when they demanded exorbitant prices for all provisions from the subsequent expedition of D'Urville (8). On Ndeni Dewar

[435]

8. D'Urville, p. 145 and elsewhere.

1 [i.e., on Vanikoro -- Analyst.]

[128 cont.]

285 Even more deceptive is the resemblance of the patterned pouch-bags (Fig. 57) to the woven ones (6), because here, too,

6. Edge-Partington, I, 162, No. 3.

the ornaments are identical to the woven patterns or at least very similar to them. The basic plaiting consists of strips of pandanus leaves and is single-meshed -- only the innermost part of the bottom surface is sometimes double- or triple-meshed (Fig. 57, Nos. 2, 4, and 6) -- without any shifting of the strips. Thus, the pouch-form is achieved only by more tightly pressing together the plaiting strips toward the edge and by shortening the line of the edge as much as possible -- sometimes with folds -- by means of the edge-interweaving, which is never absent. As for the rest, the fastening of the loose ends of the strips shows variations similar to those among the related bag types previously described: interweaving, braids and lappets worked into a lacy edge or simply knotted. The carrying-straps are also made in the same way; only individual specimens have four pairs of strings, instead of the four single strings, or two pairs and two single strings. The black strips forming the pattern are plaited in afterwards (7); [129] [Fig. 57 appears here] [130] they are

7. See footnote 4.

as little a part of the basic plaiting as they are among the other woven work and bags, but rather lie on top of the strands, running in the same direction. These bags, too, are further decorated with inserted tufts of banana fibers, like the woven ones.

Politics, War

642 [127] The Spaniards found a well-developed chief-system on Ndeni as well as on Taumako; at the signal of their leader (Ndeni,

[137 cont.]

Caption for Fig. 62.

411

Fig. 62. Arrows. Nos. 1-6 wooden points, Nos. 7-42 bone points (R.-J.-M. 3825, 3826, 3829, 3830, 3827, 3828, 3794, 11361, 3817, 3708, 3813, 21148, 3785, 3746, 3786, 21149, 3718, 21153, 3717, 3741, 11360, 3758, 3738, 3749, 3712, 3791, 3735, 21150, 3732, 3747, 3836, 21157, 11358, 3838, 21158, 3782, 11363, 21156, 21154, 3765, 3761, 3768; Joest Coll., 8, 21, 33, and 37, donated by Weiler, 12, 16, 18, 28, 32, 35, 38, and 39 Klaatsch Coll.); total length of arrows 110-122 cm., length of illustrated sections 57 1/2-69 cm. The shafts resemble those of the bird arrows in Fig. 30. Some, for example, 9, 10, and 30, show scraping of the knots of the tubes, colored black.

[138 cont.]

726
[171]

In their way of fighting, the inhabitants of the Santa Cruz Islands differ essentially from all the other Melanesians who use the bow and arrow. Among all the others, war consists essentially of jungle-fighting from ambush; open conflict is avoided if possible, and bravery is a rare virtue. Now this very characteristic is attributed to the Ndeni Islanders to a high degree. Seven natives engaged in battle against a Spanish troop, and only after six had been killed did the last one flee. They never lost courage in the face of Spanish fire, but sought to protect themselves by copying the Spanish shields, which, along with the coats of mail, they soon recognized as the sole causes of the invulnerability of their opponents; they quickly learned to direct their well-aimed shots against the exposed parts of the Spaniards' bodies (4).

[152]

[177]

4. Dalrymple, p. 83.

[157 cont.]

121 far too little considered in the interpretation of peculiar ornamentation that is apparently alien in style. This is borrowing, the migration of designs, which then to a certain extent become adapted to the style of their new home, yet often lead a certain independent existence there. And to be sure such designs often cling to the implements with which they have migrated. For
53/ Santa Cruz this point of view cannot be applied directly to the
171 clubs, at least for the present, since the only known form of club closely related to it (3) is undecorated. The situation is perhaps

3. Cf. p. 175.

different in the case of the arrows, certainly with regard to the boxes for betel lime, the designs of which (Fig. 31) [158] show similarities in part with those on the same implements from southern Bougainville and environs and in part with those from
177 Isabel (1). And it is certain that our group learned the use of

1. Cf. Ribbe, Zwei Jahre unter den Kannibalen der Salomo-Inseln [Two Years among the Cannibals of the Solomon Islands], pp. 49, 50; better material in the Berlin Museum. Also Edge-Partington, I, 156, No. 5, and 161, No. 3, which actually come from the central Solomons. In the arrows, too, there are certain similarities between Santa Cruz and Bougainville in details of the ornamentation which should not be overlooked.

121 betel from the Solomons (2). We are just beginning to learn

2. Cf. p. 182.

something about all these questions of the migration and transformation of art forms. We shall progress further after we have

[180 cont.]

x171 On the other hand, Tikopia shows close agreement and has lively traffic with the islands of the entire chain (6). It is

6. Thilenius, ibid., pp. 57ff.

clear that the Santa Cruz group could not remain untouched by this Polynesian population in its immediate vicinity and swarming around it; as a matter of fact, part of the Reef [167] Islands are colonized by Polynesians. Constant trade relations linked Tikopia with Utupua [181] and Vanikoro, but beyond [439] that also with Ndeni and the Reef Islands; even Sikaiana was occasionally drawn into its orbit (1).

1. Cf. p. 79.

x171 Under these circumstances it is surprising how slight
● 177 the influence of the more recent Polynesian cultures was on the group. Polynesian life is most marked on Vanikoro, over which Tikopia temporarily exercised a kind of supremacy. Here, the chiefdom in particular in its present form reveals [642] itself as a foreign import, for, as elsewhere in Polynesia, it not only stands far above the common people, but is also remote from all the interests of the individual tribes (2).

2. Cf. p. 109. Concerning Polynesian influence on Vanikoro, cf. Lesson, in Revue d'Anthropologie, V, pp. 257ff.

x171 The Polynesian cult came in with the chiefs. The spirit houses (balai atua) with their posts of stone or wood, the seats of the spirits, correspond throughout with the hare aiku of Ontong Java, which by their name are characterized as Polynesian cultural items (3). The name Tangaloa (4), which

3. Parkinson, I.A.f.E., X, p. 115. Thilenius, p. 61.

/155 cont./

361 villages are found. In the interior the population is very sparse, large villages seem to be absent there, and probably only kin groups or families that for some reason have become isolated live there (2).

2. [Cf. Ethn., I, p. 98. See also Coombe, pp. 186 f.]

161 In Utupua the population has dropped to 300 souls, and still lower in the once populous Vanikoro, whereas it is said that the preservation of the race has been better on the Reef Islands.

The reasons for the depopulation seem to be the same 167 here as everywhere in the South Seas: the recruiting of workers 164 and imported epidemics, as well as general demoralization as a 177 result of contact with Whites, even though only casual here. To- [182] day alcohol is no longer imported into Nitendi. Plantation work is carried on in the Solomons, and even though the treatment of the workers there is strictly supervised by the British government, sicknesses cannot be kept at a distance from the Blacks, and they are then spread when the worker returns to his homeland. It is chiefly a matter of respiratory diseases, which are undoubtedly the most dangerous enemy of the natives. It may be said that every recruit ship brings new infections to the island, even though everyone on board seems to be healthy, infections which in a few days develop into dangerous cold and influenza epidemics, to which the old, the children, and the weak fall victim.

164 Aside from such imported diseases, the race seems to be [842] healthy. I did not come across leprosy and elephantiasis, /156/ and fertility seems to be satisfactory. A woman seldom raises 163 more than three children, however, and that alone would be sufficient to explain the population decline. The reasons for this 849 may be frequent abortion, which again may rest on the general 182 demoralization. This is an inevitable result of contact between 177 a race of lower culture and Whites.

/156 cont./

799 Today, besides Mr. Matthews, only one missionary of
177 the Melanesian Mission periodically lives on Nitendi, and coloni-
167 zation by Whites has never been very great. Thus there is little direct contact between Whites and natives on the island itself.

181 The inhabitants of Nitendi do not enjoy a very good repu-
648 tation and are regarded as war-like and aggressive, probably not entirely unjustly, for Mendaña himself, the discoverer of the island, was greeted with a hail of arrows, even before he landed.
[609] This was the customary welcome accorded almost every stranger in Melanesia, however, and if elsewhere strangers were first induced to land then attacked, this in itself shows the more candid and more courageous character of the Nitendi men. And in fact, they seem candid and not very crafty, at least in comparison with the inhabitants of the New Hebrides. Now that they have become accustomed to generally peaceful intercourse with Whites as a result of missions and recruitment, they are, in contrast to other Melanesians, gay, trustful, and obliging, even in
[596] front of Whites. Only a slight infraction of their etiquette, however, arouses spontaneous enmity. Then they reach for the bow and arrow, but their anger quickly subsides, especially if they do not have the advantage, and a payment will usually atone for the crime. Often it seems as though they fight only to satisfy their laws. The beginnings of gratitude are there.

181 A sense for the comic is strongly developed. There is
522 great fondness for ridicule, and their wit seems to be keen and to the point. A man's weak side is grasped in a moment and forever afterward it is laughed at and ridiculed. They have no compassion. Other people's suffering leaves them cold or amuses them, whereas their own pain is very strongly felt, not so much chronic suffering as acute injury.

231 Animals are tortured out of carelessness, but domestic
855 animals are well cared for. Children are treated tenderly (1),

1. [Probably everywhere the smaller
854 children are carried by the mother on the left hip in the bark-cloth shawl,

415

/178 cont./

noteworthy spouts on the notched handles of the bowl, as are characteristic for the entire type (also for Ethn., I, p. 75, Fig. 24, No. 1), but were not pointed out by Graebner. It looks as though two forms (one with notched handle -- cf. also Edge-Partington and Heape, I, 156, No. 3 -- another with spout) had been combined. A related, yet unique form is represented by Ethn., I, p. 95, Fig. 24 (the illustration is unfortunately imperfect); here the triangular handles are notched and set off from the bowl, but there is a slight groove on the upper side from the inner edge of the bowl to about the middle of the handle.]

oval wooden bowl, without any decoration and without handles, /179/ seems to be used in the making of arm rings (1). There

1. [Speiser, Südsee, Ill. 92. See also the oval wooden bowl with four short feet in Edge-Partington and Heape, I, 156, No. 9.]

are some very bizarre bowls, as in Fig. 20, which could hardly be put to practical use. They may be /Figs. 18, 19 and 20 appear here/ adaptations of some European object (spoon); in any case, I was never able to find out what these objects were used for. A similar form is found in the museum in Hâvre as a dance club (Fig. 56) (2).

[illegible]

2. [In this connection, cf. also the following article.]

/180/ As spoons, besides the form shown in Ethn., I,

[Text continues on p. 61--analyst]

/180 cont./

412 tortoise-shell knife shaped like a paper knife (Fig. 22). /Fig. 21 and 22 appear here./

A large mortar, about 21 cm. high (Basel V (1882) [of [531] the form shown in Ethn., I, p. 102, Fig. 32, which on the outside, along the rim, has a simple incised serrated band, and the ring encircling it above the foot is shaped like a star through [252] notching,] is supposed to have been used to pound food for toothless old men.

396 531 I no longer saw the lime boxes of bamboo, as in Ethn., I, p. 102, Fig. 31, No. 6 (4). The pestles for the betel mortars

4. [The principal decoration of these lime boxes, the division into square fields with rhomboids at the intersections, is repeatedly documented for Santa Cruz (cf., for example, Ethn., I, p. 111, Fig. 42, No. 2, and the dance clubs, p. 133, Fig. 58, Nos. 4, 5, 7, 9, 12; in Dr. Speiser's collection the same motif is found on bark cloth). The designation of its origin is thus certain.

[412] are often made of Tridacna (Basel V 1860) [and are cylindrical, except that they taper slightly at the butt end (5)].

5. [From Dr. Speiser's collection the R.-J.-Museum also acquired a flat, roundish nut box with a carved wooden stopper (Fig. 23), which he does not regard as anything original. According to him similar nut boxes are sometimes used by Europeans and natives of the New Hebrides as match boxes. All the same, the box is so well made and has a stopper so typical for Santa Cruz that it deserves to be illustrated and will perhaps lead to further investigation of the matter. --

[415] [177]

2: Speiser--88 E-4, 5 (1912) 1916 ON13 Santa Cruz ON13

/192 cont./

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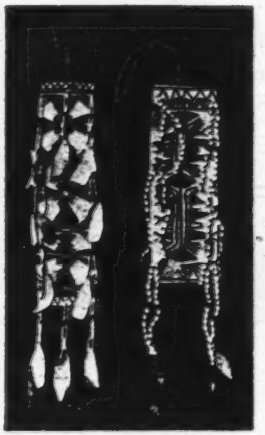

1 2

Fig. 36. Small plates of feather money, which circulate as small change (Ba V 2751); ca. 1/4 natural size.

[Fig. 35.] Boards belonging to rolls of feather money, allegedly "musical instruments" (k.k. Naturh. Hofmus., Vienna, Anthr.-Ethn. Div. 42863 and 42864, Reischek Coll.). Red and black painting on white background; pendants on No. 1 made of European glass beads and pieces of shell, on No. 2 of Coix fruits and pieces of tortoise shell, with a red fruit in center of each. 23.6 and 21 cm. long.

/192 cont./
436 bamboo (or stuck on it?), which rests on two vertical posts (4).]

4. [Jennings, JAI, XXVIII, p. 164.]

Nowadays scarcely any feather money is made (5), and new rolls

5. [Coombe, p. 187, gives the west coast of Nitendi as the place of manufacture of feather money.

can no longer be acquired. Small plates of feather money (Fig. 36) circulate as small change and go from hand to hand individually or in bundles. /193/ When they are made into rolls they are fastened on a flat, plaited band (1).

1. [A band acquired from Dr. Speiser's collection, which is simply plaited out of three cords (a piece of it is reproduced here in Fig. 37) is supposed to have been used this way. The occasional small, glass beads in it are noteworthy. A strap of feather money probably always has more than one such band (cf. Ethn., I, p. 114).]

[193]

Another kind of small change consists of money-mats (Ethn., I, p. 125, Fig. 54, No. 7). They circulate folded (Fig. 38) and have little value.

[Shell money (Ethn., I, p. 114), at least in former times, was the ordinary form of money. It consists of small /Fig. 37 appears here/ shell and coconut disks strung on a fine cord in a certain regular alternation (cf. Fig. 39): sections consisting exclusively of white shell disks alternate with similar sections in which coconut disks are inserted singly or in pairs; in place of the latter, small black fruits, or, under European influence, glass beads, are also used. Fish vertebrae are inserted

[194]

[Text continues on p. 91 -- analyst]

/195 cont./

287 the manufacture of tapa in the interior, because in other instances the use of coastal material for inland techniques has been verified (for example, on Bougainville, cf. R. Parkinson, "Zur [113] Ethnogr. d. nordwestl. Salomo-Inseln /On the Ethnography of the Northwestern Solomon Islands/," Abh. u. Ber. Kgl. Zool. u. Anthr.-Ethn. Mus. Dresden, 436 VII, 1898/99, No. 6, p. 2). -- The

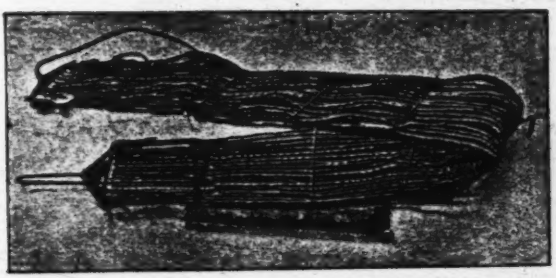

Fig. 40. Shell money from Utupua in the form of a bar-belt from the Central Carolines, with the board upon which it is wound (Ba V 2770); made of small shell and coconut disks, black •[109] and white (Coix) fruits, and European glass beads; ca. 1/10 natural size.

287 bark-cloth beaters illustrated in Ethn., I, p. 117, Fig. 45, Nos. 1-3 -- although lacking any original information as to origin -- undoubtedly come from Nitendi, because they belong to the same Joest collection that, with respect to bark cloth, contained only pieces from Nitendi and because of the large number of them (cf. above, p. 91, footnote 2).]

/195 cont./

287 are 265 X 70 and 295 X 62 along the sides. [The patterns are named after objects in nature (2).] A unique specimen is a large

[531]

2. [Jennings, JAI, XXVIII, p. 164. He lists the following patterns: "Yam," "River," "Banana," "Breadfruit."]

piece of tapa dyed a greenish blue (Basel V 2727). It is doubtful whether this comes from Nitendi (3).

●[177]

3. [It has undoubtedly been brought from the central Solomon Islands. Cf. the material in the Berlin museum from Rubiana (according to Dr. Graebner) and R.-J.-M. No. 4431 (from the collection of Wilhelm Joest, who spent some time on Rubiana); see also Edge-Partington and Heape, II, 123, where indigo-blue tapa from Isabel is described.]

286 283 [The banana fiber used for weaving (4) is obtained in

4. [Ethn., I, pp. 123 ff. Wide looms have recently been illustrated in O'Ferrall, section "Mat Making" (= Coombe, plate between pp. 182 and 183), and in Speiser, Südsee, Ill. 91.]

the following way: the banana stalk is placed on a block of wood and pounded to a pulp with a heavy piece of wood; the soft parts are then removed by scraping; the fibers are hung in the 286 sun to dry and finally combed out (5). A woven men's mat

5. [O'Ferrall, ibid.]

/198 cont./ The cause is almost always the
628 assault of a woman, which should be atoned for by the death of
[584] the offender, but, after a great number of arrows have been shot off, the matter is usually settled by the payment of a fine (3).

3. [Coombe, p. 180 (cf. also O'Ferrall, section "Historical Sketch") reports that when peace is concluded the side that has had the fewer losses must give the other side the same number of boys as their excess casualties, and these boys must climb a tree, whereupon they are shot.]

[728]

Most of the villages live in indolent peace with one another. It is as a district, however, that the people regard themselves as a
[634] unit and stand together in a fight with another district. Thus, in
[619] 1912 latent hostility had existed for many years between the inhabitants of the east and west coasts of Graciosa Bay, and communication between the two shores was almost completely cut off.

911 As for weapons, I did not find the blowgun anywhere (4),

4. [Cf. Ethn., I, p. 132.]

but I did manage to acquire a few war clubs (Fig. 46) (5). They

5. [This must have been the kind of club that Markham mentions for Nukapu, not the dance club; this is probably also the kind of club with which Bishop Patteson was slain on Nukapu, both of which facts should be mentioned in connection with Ethn., I, p. 132. In mission circles the impression seems to be that Patteson was killed with a bark-cloth beater (O'Ferrall, section "Historical Sketch"; Coombe,

[777]

3:Davenport E-5 (1958-1960)1962
ON13 Santa Cruz ON13

[p95(B)]

436 One of the most exotic kinds of money in the world today is a belt two inches wide and 30 feet long made of glue, fibers and feathers, particularly the downy red feathers plucked from the breast, head and back of a tropical forest bird. The red-feather currency of the Santa Cruz Islands of the southwest Pacific nonetheless fits the most rigorous definition of the term "money." It serves as a means of accumulating wealth and as a universal medium of exchange in the highly diversified commerce that flows among these islands. The currency itself is fully interchangeable, each belt having a precisely negotiable value in terms of other belts. Against the recent invasion of the Australian pound, moreover, the red-feather money has kept its integrity. It is still the only acceptable specie for the purchase of brides, fine pigs and certain forms of labor.

[237] [825] [556] [177] [583]

121 436 This improbable currency demonstrates that the use of money is not an economic sophistication limited to high civilizations. Many, but by no means all, primitive peoples have devised moneys of their own. Although the forms of the currencies are as diverse as any of man's inventions—running the gamut of animal, vegetable and mineral matter in the live, raw and processed states—the maintenance of these so-called primitive monetary systems requires the balancing of the same equation of supply and demand that confronts the U.S. Treasury and the Federal Reserve System.

435 436 121 If a currency is to serve as a common denominator of value, its value in turn must be carefully regulated. This is one of the most delicate operations in the management of a modern state. It involves adjustment of the demand for as well as supply of money, achieved by control over both the flow and the production of the currency. To a certain ex-

3:Davenport E-5 (1958-1960)1962
ON13 Santa Cruz ON13

[795(D)]

131 are scattered over some 15,000 square miles of the Pacific Ocean just north of the New Hebrides Islands. Santa Cruz, a volcanic island, is the largest in the group as well as its financial center. About 25 miles to the north is a chain of small coral islets called the Reef Islands, and midway between these and Santa Cruz [133] is Tinakula, a volcano too spectacularly [361] active for human settlement. The Duff Islands, 60 miles northeast of the Reefs, are remnant peaks of a narrow volcanic ridge. The only other large islands of the group are Utupua and Vanikoro, respectively some 40 and 60 miles south of Santa Cruz.

177 Partly as the result of a long history of inhospitality to visiting mariners and missionaries, the islands were left pretty much to themselves even through the first two decades of this century, when colonial powers were asserting dominion over other islands in the Pacific. It was not until 1923 that the British assumed [648] direct administration of the islands, which they had claimed since 1899, and only since World War II has the Santa Cruz group actually been drawn into the current of world affairs. Today some 161 7,000 people inhabit the islands, most of them concentrated along the north coast of Santa Cruz and in the eastern Reef Islands. The people of the Duffs 144 and the western Reefs speak a Poly- 197 nesian language and are racially similar to the Polynesians of the central Pacific islands. The darker Melanesians of the eastern Reefs and Santa Cruz itself speak four local languages that constitute an independent language family. Melanesians also live on Utupua and Vanikoro, but their three languages belong to the large Malayo-Polynesian 184 family. The cultures of Santa Cruz and 436 the islands north of it are similar in spite 438 of language and racial differences, and it is through this area that the red-

438 could purvey her services as a prostitute, sell her outright or even kill her
[595] without fear of retaliation. None of these
[548] things could be done with wives. But since the purchase price of a concubine was 10 times higher than a bride price, selling a girl into concubinage had its attractions for many Reef Island families. The British Government has for-
[177] bidden the practice, but Reef Island
[583] women still go south as wives. Their
[554] bride prices are the main source of currency for their home islands. An imported wife brings extra prestige to a Santa Cruz man, and bride prices for Reef women run about twice as high as they do for domestic wives.

The Duff Islanders get their feather currency not by selling women but by building large sailing canoes that carry on interisland traffic in passengers and
[437] cargo. The men of the Duffs do not en-
[505] gage in that traffic themselves; they sell the canoes for feather currency to the people of a few of the western Reef Islands, who in turn specialize in voyaging and trading throughout the islands. These mariners sail even to the southern islands of Utupua and Vanikoro in search of trade. The two islands are outside the feather-currency area, but their people until recently depended on the
[436] canoes to bring them the shell disks and lengths of woven cloth they used as
[437] currency. For these precious items they traded, at fixed rates, packets of red honey eater feathers, and these were resold on Santa Cruz to the makers of feather currency. In this manner the two different money systems became interlocked and interdependent, and the economies of north and south remain so today, even though there is no longer any traffic in currency materials.

177 Since the end of World War II the
436 Santa Cruz monetary system has come under pressure from the world outside. More and more Australian money has flowed into the islands; it circulates along with the feather currency and is completely interchangeable with it. Today the rate of exchange is roughly one shilling for a piece of feather money of minimum value. This makes the par value of a No. 1 piece 512 shillings, or about 25 Australian pounds. Figured in
[464] terms of labor (at the prevailing net wage rate for unskilled labor in the central Solomons, where most Santa Cruz men work at some point in their lives), the value of a new piece of currency is roughly comparable: about 20 to 24 pounds.

458 Plantation wages have nearly trebled
177 since 1945. The great increase in the

458 quantity of Australian money within the
●177 Santa Cruz group has caused a precipi-
[435] tate fall in its value in terms of local goods. Once a shilling bought 10 pounds of native tobacco; now it buys half a
[438] pound. During the same period, in an effort to increase copra production by channeling more islanders into planta-
[648] tion work, the colonial administration has taken steps that tend to depress interisland and intervillage trade in domestic products. Less feather currency
[287] is needed and less is being produced. At the moment there are only five men on Santa Cruz who bind currency, whereas a decade ago there were more
[583] than a dozen. Yet marriages go on as before, and men still refuse to marry off their daughters without receiving the traditional red-feather payment. Indeed, there is no area of the islands' economy in which confidence in the feather currency has been shaken. The
[465] craft and agricultural specialists still demand red-feather money for their best products.

With the value of feather currency rising as it becomes scarcer and that of Australian money dropping as it becomes more abundant, the market
[436] price of feather currency in Australian pounds has increased nearly 20 times in the past 15 years. Although it is recognized that 25 Australian pounds is the appropriate par value for a new piece of feather money, it takes considerably more than that to induce the currency specialists to turn one out. This is, to
[223] be sure, not true in the case of the bird
[825] snarers. As a result of the decreased production of feather money, the *Myzomela cardinalis* population has been increasing; the snarers can take birds more easily and in more accessible places and they would be willing to work for the old rates. But the labor involved in mak-
[287] ing platelets and binding new currency has not diminished. Like skilled artisans anywhere, the specialists in these processes prefer to charge more and work less. In pricing their labor they are mindful not only of today's high market but also of the fact that the value of their product in Australian money is likely to be even greater as time passes. As a result the production of feather currency has now fallen behind even the currently reduced demand. As the "bad" Australian money drives out the "good" red-feather currency in accordance with Gresham's law, a simple society in the South Seas is experiencing a monetary crisis familiar to many more sophisticated economies.

[p 104]

WHEN A PRIMITIVE AND A CIVILIZED MONEY MEET

William Davenport

IT IS A COMMON story these days to read of a primitive economic system or even large segments of an entire social structure which have become greatly altered by the direct or indirect effects of the society coming into contact and participation with the Western money economy. It is held by many that the universality of our money, a medium by which standardized values can be fixed to almost any good or service, is one of the main factors in this kind of change, for primitive societies are frequently organized around more than one system of valuation. One anthropologist[1] has termed this "multicentric," by which he refers to the fact that one system of valuation is frequently applicable to a limited set of transactions, while a different system is required in another set, and moreover, that these are not in theory convertible.

I shall attempt here to outline the current situation among some islands in the southwest Pacific where this is *not* the case. Here Australian money is competing with an indigenous system of universal currency, which, for all we know, has been in existence for centuries. It is an unusual situation, for owing to their economic behavior which is determined by a strong profit motive, the people want both, yet the native currency is disappearing.

The Santa Cruz Group, lying two hundred miles east of the main British Solomons, are a complex of volcanic islands, true atolls, and raised atolls in which live about six thousand people.[2] They speak eight different languages: one Polynesian, three other Malayo-Polynesian but of a different stock from Polynesian, and four others, related to each other, but as yet unrelated to anything else. The northern part of this group consists of Santa Cruz Island, the largest; the Reef Islands, thirty miles to the north; and the Duff Islands, still fifty miles further out to the northeast. The culture in these is, by Melanesian standards, fairly homogeneous, and from the economic point of view, it is convenient to think of them as participating in a single economic system.

One of the striking things about this island economy is the number of district and island specialties. These embrace a wide range of skills and services, among which are agricultural specialties, animal husbandry, fishing techniques, and many arts and crafts such as canoe making, loom weaving, and clothing and ornament manufacture. Some of these crafts require the bringing of raw materials from one district or island to another before the products are manufactured and the finished goods are redistributed throughout the group. These specialties are largely inherited patrilineally, and many are protected from expropriation by others by magical and supernatural means. Despite this individuality in production, there is a high correlation of certain specialties with the ecological zone within which it is found. For example, specialized fishing techniques are to be found associated with types of reefs, with lagoons, or their absence; pig breeding with abun-

1, 2 [For footnotes, see category 116, page 68.-Analyst]

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[428]

higher the value of a piece of currency, the fewer there are; thus the rarity value increases with the value as determined by its condition. Translated in terms of our own money, it would be as if a ten-dollar bill was worth more than ten one-dollar bills because there are fewer of them in circulation. Unlike our money again, feather currency has no numerical units of value which permit easy and exact equivalencies to be made. Rather, the value of this exotic currency is not unlike that of precious gems, were they to be used as a medium of exchange. Each stone would be unique as to quality and size, and value could only be determined by recognized criteria of excellence plus the condition of the market. 435 436

Currency flows outward from its source throughout Santa Cruz Island and on to the Reef and Duff Islands in the north. These latter islands constitute areas of perennial shortage. Balancing this one-way flow of currency is a reverse movement of the most valuable commodity of all—women. The Reef Islands send out some of their women in exchange for bride prices paid in feather currency. Santa Cruz Island never sends its women abroad under any circumstances. Formerly, these women came to Santa Cruz both as wives and as concubines. The concubines were clearly distinguished from wives by the fact that they were shared by a group of men in a form of polyandry; they did no gardening or other domestic tasks normally assigned to women; and while they enjoyed a specially favored social position, they could be purveyed as prostitutes, sold outright, or even killed by the will of their owners alone. Bride prices for concubines were much higher than for ordinary wives—ten times higher to be exact. Due to government regulations, wives only are brought to Santa Cruz Island nowadays, but these are the prestigeful marriages, and their bride prices are larger than those of domestic unions. 438 [595] [548] [583] [554]

This one-way movement of women is correlated with an interesting population phenomenon. Santa Cruz Island population statistics reveal an abundance of males as compared with females of marriageable age, while in the Reef Islands the ratio is nearly even. This abundance of men is a phenomenon which has been noted in other Melanesian and New Guinea populations, but it has neither been investigated nor explained. [162]

The Duff Islands in the extreme northeast corner of the group come into the economic picture, not by sending out women, but by being specialists in making large sailing canoes in which cargos and passengers are transported interisland. These canoes are mainly sold to the Polynesian-speaking people of the small atolls of the Western Reef Islands who make their money by voyaging and trading throughout the group. Formerly, they sailed as far as the southern islands of Vanikoro and Utupua, ninety miles south of Santa Cruz Island. These islands depended upon receiving ground shell discs and special lengths of loom-woven fabric of banana fiber, specialties of certain districts of the Reef and Santa Cruz Islands, which were used as currency there. For these they traded feathers used on Santa Cruz Island for the making of feather currency. These shell and fabric currencies of Vanikoro and Utupua have no currency value in the island where they were made, and feather currency has no value in the former islands. [396] [505] [436] [184]

The Santa Cruz Group has a long history of contact with European civilization, beginning with Mendaña's second voyage in 1595. For the most part, however, the early contacts had little effect on the islanders, but were disastrous for the Europeans. Mendaña himself and many of his company died on Santa Cruz Island, Carteret lost some of his men there also when he attempted to land, La Perouse and his entire expedition perished on Vanikoro, and late in the nineteenth century Commodore Goodenough and a dozen Anglican missionaries, including one bishop, met death in several attempts to bring this island group within the confines of the British Empire and Christendom. 177

From 1900 onward the situation began to change. The few recruits who had gone away to work on plantations, and schoolboys who had gone away to mission schools returned [464]

with diseases. After several great epidemics, the population set into a decline which has only now been arrested. The British Solomon Island Protectorate brought them under direct governmental control in the mid-1920's, and more and more men began going out to work under regulated recruiting conditions. These recruits, of course, returned with trade goods. All of these factors influenced the economic system greatly, but trading and the use of feather currency went on as before. There is certain evidence that the cessation of feuding and the importation of steel tools and other articles of civilized manufacture actually stimulated the internal economy rather than depressed it. Small amounts of Australian currency did get into circulation as early as 1930, but not in sufficient quantity to alter the internal monetary system. By the end of the Pacific War, however, the situation had dramatically changed. Recruiting shot up, laborer's wages increased greatly, imported trade goods, though never really plentiful—not even today—became well distributed, and appreciable amounts of Australian money came to be used alongside of and interchangeably with feather currency. As regards currency, the acculturation dilemma had started. The two currencies were in circulation side by side, and it seems as if it would be a matter of simple choice of one over the other. Now let us look at the results of this choice situation after more than a decade of real competition between the two currencies.

The production of feather currency has dropped far below what it normally would be, but the demand for it has remained constant. As a consequence, the value has risen sharply and continues to rise. By comparisons of its purchasing power in pigs and in bride prices, the value has risen 200 to 300 per cent in the past fifteen years. This deflation applies equally to Santa Cruz Island where it is made and to the outer islands toward which it flows and where it has always been scarcer. Conversely, Australian money has increased as more and more men have gone out to work and brought back some of their net incomes in cash. From comparisons of savings of wealthy men, it is estimated that the amount of Australian currency in circulation has risen at least 400 per cent in the past fifteen years. Its buying power with respect to imported trade goods has remained roughly the same, for these prices have risen along with wages. The demand for Australian money has certainly increased as people have come to depend more and more upon imported goods which can only be purchased with it, but its buying power with respect to local products—pigs, for instance—has greatly diminished as it has become more plentiful.

As always, these two currencies are, in theory and in fact, perfectly convertible, even though there are some difficulties in fixing values due to the nonquantified means of valuation in feather currency. But with feather currency becoming scarcer and Australian money becoming more plentiful, the exchange rates have been altering drastically. As an illustration, a piece of feather currency which could have been purchased easily for one pound in 1945 might now command as much as twenty. Even at this price, an owner might be reluctant to part with his feather currency, for he may not wish to convert from a currency which is increasing in value to one which in terms of the internal economy is doing the opposite. Because of this unwillingness, it has become harder to fix a value in Australian money for feather currencies of very high value (i.e., those that are very scarce), while those pieces of very low value are easily converted or exchanged.

The slowdown in the production of feather currency is traceable directly to the actions of one of the three specialists, the binders. There are but five of these men currently working on Santa Cruz Island. Since their own needs for feather currency can be easily satisfied by their own work, they wish to ply their trades principally for Australian money. Like skilled workers anywhere, they prefer to work less for large margins of profit than more for small margins. There are young men in the line of inheritance, but

they, for the time being at least, prefer to go out to work for wages rather than to stay home as the older men do. As a result of this, it takes nearly forty pounds to pay for all the materials and services required for a single piece of new feather currency. This is roughly equivalent to over one year's net earnings in the labor lines of a plantation. In effect, feather currency is being priced off the currency market. In contrast to the binders, the bird catchers are eager to work for old rates, for the lack of production of currency has seen a marked rise in the bird population. Birds are abundant in areas close at hand, and they are easy to catch. To the catchers, this means they do not have to work as hard or long to snare the required number for an order as they formerly did.

Despite this financial crisis, feather currency continues to be an absolute necessity in normal social relations. Most men are unwilling to marry off their daughters without receiving bride prices paid in the conventional manner. Pig breeders, too, demand payment in feather currency for fine animals that are to be used in maturation ceremonies, and the same feelings are held by the many turtle fishermen and the shark fishermen who furnish the special meat for ceremonial occasions. Nowhere has the confidence in feather currency been undermined. In fact, just the opposite realization—that it is becoming increasingly valuable—is what is at the bottom of the shortage. Since the currency is perishable, it cannot be hoarded indefinitely and retained as a kind of special purpose heirloom, to be exchanged only on ceremonial occasions. If present trends continue, then it must eventually disappear, and its functions will be assumed by the use of Australian money.

If one were to look casually at this situation, without knowledge of the internal dynamics, this would appear to be a simple instance of diffusion. A case in which a new element—Australian money—is replacing an old element on a one-for-one basis. It might seem like a simple choice situation, exactly like many others created by acculturation—a case where the native is choosing one object in preference for another according to some utilitarian scheme of values. One could even argue that the replacement is a rational economic choice based on the knowledge that one is convertible to the other, and one has the more general usage; therefore the more general one will be chosen. The apparent choice makes economic sense, too, for Australian money is not perishable, it cannot depreciate with age, and it is easier to carry, to use, and to exchange. All of these utilities are indeed recognized, but they have not shaken the traditional confidence in the indigenous currency.

This apparently simple case of change is analagous to kinds of monetary crises our own society has experienced when, during the bimetallic era, the relative values of gold and silver got out of hand; when various paper moneys were issued on hard currencies; and when international exchange rates between currencies fluctuated. In these situations, people always hang on to the more valuable currency, creating a scarcity, and taking it off the market. It seems, then, that Gresham's Law and the Doctrine of Bimetallic Flows are as applicable to this primitive monetary system as they are to civilized systems.

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NOTES

1. Bohannon, Paul, "The Impact of Money on an African Subsistence Economy," Journal of Economic History, XIX, 491-503. 1959.

2. Field work in the Santa Cruz Group was carried out during 1958-60 as part of the Tri-Institutional Pacific Program (Bishop Museum, University of Hawaii, Yale University), supported by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York.